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ization will furnish the means whereby neither the advantages of individual nor organized effort, both of which are culturally necessary, will be lost; and whereby each may retain its autonomy and elasticity within a definite sphere, and supplement and aid the other.

It needs hardly be stated that a German book which contains a table of contents does not require an index—at least not in Germany.

ALBERT KOCOUREK.

Le Président de la République, Son Rôle, Ses Droits, Ses Devoirs.

By HENRY LEYRET. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1913. Pp. xvi, 282.)

The author of this little book is one of the best known political writers of France. His *La République et les Politiciens* (1909), *La Tyrannie des Politiciens*, (1910) and *Les Tyrans Ridicules* (1910) contain some of the most acute and suggestive criticisms of French political institutions and customs that we have. In his latest book, he has examined the presidential office in the light of forty years experience, and has attempted to give a picture of the actual rôle which the President plays in the political life of the Republic. As one reads his story one cannot avoid the conviction that the French presidency is, as the Radicals and Socialists have long claimed, pretty nearly a useless institution. M. Leyret shows from the testimony of both the Republicans and the Monarchists of the national assembly that the authors of the constitution intended to create, and believed they were creating, a great office, the incumbent of which would, if anything, be a more powerful magistrate than the President of the United States. But it has turned out quite otherwise. The reason for it lies in the fact that the authors of the constitution, after having conferred upon the President a large group of important powers, proceeded to reduce his rôle to a nullity by putting him under the guardianship of ministers and declaring him to be irresponsible. The consequence was that in their desire to prevent the President from doing what he ought not to do, they made it impossible for him to exercise the power which they gave him, and he no longer attempts to do so. No president since MacMahon has exercised the right of dissolution, the right of suspensive veto is a dead letter, and no executive messages except letters of resignation and letters of thanks for his election have ever been communicated to either chamber. A president who should attempt to exercise the powers which the constitution gives him would be denounced as a dictator and his resignation would probably be demanded by the chambers. Another cause of the enfeeblement of the presidency is no doubt to be found in

the character of the men who have held the office. Presidents like Grévy, Loubet and Fallières have voluntarily effaced themselves and allowed parliament to govern the country. Occasionally, presidents like Casimir-Perier have entered office with a somewhat exalted conception of their obligations and responsibilities, but their efforts to play a real rôle in the government of the country have signally failed, and some of them have resigned in disgust. Casimir Perier resigned because he was unwilling to play the rôle of valet to the parliament; Grévy was forced to resign because of a family scandal. Thiers and MacMahon were practically forced to retire because of the hostility of parliament. These precedents have clearly established the principle that although the term of the president is fixed by the constitution, he holds in fact at the will of parliament, in short, that the office is a mere dependency of the legislature, which insists on exercising itself the real governing authority.

Many thinking Frenchmen regret that the presidential office has been reduced to such insignificant proportions and they would like to see the chief of state play a rôle like that played by the American executive, and among these Mr. Leyret is one, but not even a strong man like Poincaré can raise the office above its present level unless the whole attitude of the parliament toward the presidency is changed. So long as it insists on governing as well as legislating, the President must remain as he has long been, a mere master of ceremonies, a "chaser of rabbits," an *ombre décharnée d'un roi fainéant*.

JAMES W. GARNER.

The Political Philosophy of Burke. By JOHN MACCUNN. (New York: Longmans Green and Company; London: Edward Arnold, 1913. Pp. 272.)

This book represents the second attempt in recent years to reduce Burke's political philosophy to a system and to put it into coherent form so as to enable one to form an estimate of his theories as a whole. Graham's essay on Burke in his *English Political Philosophy* (third edition, 1911) is less systematic in its method of treatment than the book under review, though in some ways it is a more brilliant and informing analysis of the theories of the great Whig orator. Graham analyzed in chronological order each of Burke's more important political speeches, pamphlets and essays, described their setting and criticised somewhat severely his ultra conservative and reactionary doctrines. MacCunn follows a different method and adopts a somewhat eulogistic attitude